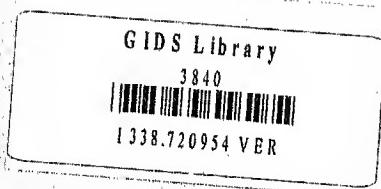


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THE IDENTITY QUESTION IN THE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL FAMILIES

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THE IDENTITY QUESTION IN THE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL FAMILIES*

H.S. Verma

This paper discusses the process of identity formation and its operation among the industrial families in India. Utilizing data from a larger study, it first outlines, through the analysis of educational attainments, professional education/training, marital alliance patterns, and occupational choices how identity formation of the members of the industrial families takes place. It then examines the development and rationale of entrepreneurial identities, satisfaction of ego needs and operation of familial and individual identities. Identity interfaces and their consequences as reflected in the nature of authority structure patterns and extent of various types of turbulence displayed is covered next. It emerges that the presence of turbulence among the Indian industrial families as a result of identity clashes has become almost a normal feature. There is no resort to standard therapeutic techniques and the State has not taken any effective corrective action. Consequently, the health of economic enterprises controlled by the industrial families continues to get affected adversely.

The identity question in Indian industrial families has to be viewed at two levels : first, at the level of the family where it acts as a corporate group and second, at the level of the individuals. Identity of the family is actualized by the authority structure which also determines, to a large extent, the formation and operation of individual identities of most of the family members. It is the nature and intensity of the interaction of familial and individual identities which, in turn, determines the presence and extent of turbulence in the families affecting the domestic and work circuits.

* Revised version of the paper submitted to the International Seminar on Child and the Family in Changing Society, held on November 26-30, 1979 at the Department of Sociology, University of Helsinki, Finland.

Objectives and Scope of the Study

The larger study (Verma : 1979, in press), from which empirical material is drawn for the analysis here, examines operation of entrepreneurial process in three task segments of the total business environment. These are : (a) the family, (b) the internal environment of the economic units, and (c) the external business environment. The general hypothesis which it tests is that success or failure of entrepreneurs depends on their capacities in combating familial turbulence and negotiating components of internal and external environments. The objective of this paper here, however, is considerably modest : it is mainly concerned with the process of identity formation in industrial families and operation of identity interfaces.

The Sample and Data

The universe for the larger study (Verma : 1979, in press) consists of such families which meet the following criteria :

1. It is an Indian family and shows complexities of jointness.
2. A minimum of three generations (including the present) must have been in trade, business and large scale manufacturing sector.
3. The manufacturing units of the family have prominent position in atleast one or more products/product groups.
4. The products of the manufacturing units of the family are either marketed all over India or parts of Indian Union and abroad.

The rationale behind utilization of the above criteria is to find out the contribution made by such families as had made a notable impact on the industrial development in the country. Since a list of such industrial families did not exist, it had to be made on the basis of a pilot study. A total of 96 families from different manufacturing centres of the country made the list. From this universe, an all India sample of 33 families (34.4%) was drawn randomly. The data used was collected during the period October 1977 to August 1978 from both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources include in depth discussions with the available representatives of various generations of the same family, relatives, their friends, business colleagues, executives enjoying their confidence, trade union representatives and officials of professional, educational, cultural, welfare and other institutions as had worked in close concert with them. Total number of such persons who provided the information totalled over 350. The secondary sources consisted of published and written material about the personal and professional lives of the representatives of the families, and their economic units and other institutions.

The resultant data deal with three generations in each case. Although the entry of each family in the large scale manufacturing sector varies on the time continuum, the tenure of different sets of Kartas (i.e. heads) of these families provided an adequate common methodological tool for historical

analysis. In the discussion which follows, consequently, evidence presented about the sample families deals with various sets of Kartas.

Identity Formation

Formation of individual identities in the Indian industrial families is obtained through acquisition of educational, professional, and entrepreneurial skills and is reinforced with a distinct marital identity geared to sustain the familial identity. Given individual identities once, the individuals are deployed on the enterprises controlled by the families. Individual and familial identities operate in the same spheres : the only difference is that the familial identities, reflected as they are through the authority structures, saddle themselves with the strategic decision making and most of the individuals are concerned with the administrative and day-to-day decisions.

Educational Attainments

It is essential to note here that educational attainment among the members of industrial families is not only a question of individual effort : it is equally an issue for familial choice. Thus, whether a particular male or female pursues his/her studies in a particular direction and upto a particular level is largely a question decided by the Karta and what we have called the Core Council of the family. Quite often the concerned individual intends to pursue his/her studies but the family authority structure wants him/her to

leave the same and join the family enterprise. In such cases, it is the decision of the Karta and the Core Council of the family which generally prevails : the individual has very little choice to make.

Educational attainments of the Kartas, males and females of the Indian industrial families presented three distinct identities (Table 1). Level of educational attainments of the Kartas was pretty low at the time of first set when 32.4 per cent were just literates. However, it was soon realized by them that if the expanding industrial empire was to be managed to their best advantage, apart from family members, they themselves (i.e. Kartas) would need higher education. This realization apparently found expression in higher educational attainments of the subsequent sets of Kartas : as much as 40.5 per cent of second set of Kartas were graduates and over. This proportion reached its peak of 100 per cent in the case of third set of Kartas.

In general, the unequal status of males and females in the industrial families reflects itself in their educational attainments. A large proportion of females had lower educational attainments than their male counterparts at the time of the first set of Kartas. Educational attainments of both sexes rose in general at the time of subsequent sets of Kartas. However, those of the males have done so appreciably. In spite of general alround improvement in the educational attainments among the industrial families, the order of

importance - Kartas, males, females in that order - continues to show itself in the educational identities of various types of family members.

Professional Education/Training

Managing large scale manufacturing enterprises requires capable professional managers in various functional areas such as production, finance, marketing, materials and personnel etc. The data indicate that the industrial families had also felt the need of acquiring professional management capabilities within their families gradually. At the time of first set of Kartas, all family members deployed on the management of the economic units were only professionally acquainted with the technological processes employed there (Table 2). In the subsequent period, however, a mix of both professionally acquainted and professionally qualified persons has been built up in the ratio of 2 : 1. The motivation behind this strategy was revealed in the intimate discussions. It was indicated that the industrial families did not consider it essential for all of their members to acquire professional qualifications to manage their manufacturing units.

Marital Identity

Apart from births and adoption, marriages are the only other means through which recruitment to and from family takes place vitally affecting, in the process, the human resource structure of the families and individual identities of the concerned members. Additionally, marriages also serve the

purpose of providing a link to the family with the outside environment which kept on changing, causing turbulence and which the industrial families, as a class, tried to negotiate as much as they possibly could. To the extent marriages forge new relationships with their key allies in the society, they strengthened the hold of the industrial families. Data from this study provide powerful support to this postulation (Tables 3 and 4). It is discovered, for instance, that the industrial families have been entering into marital alliances almost entirely with the following occupational segments of the society : (1) businessmen, (2) industrialists, (3) professionals (in medicine, law, engineering, management), (4) high bureaucrats and (5) politicians. Very few alliances are being entered into with other occupational segments of the society.

A second characteristic displayed is that the pattern of marital alliances of the sons and daughters of the industrial families with various types of allies has been significantly varying during the reigns of different sets of Kartas. At the time of first set of Kartas, for example, the largest percentage of brides for the sons (32.6) was provided by businessmen as against 27.6 per cent from among the industrialists. Professionals and others provided 16.3 and 14 per cent respectively (Table 3). In contrast, the largest percentage of grooms for the daughters (35.3) were provided by the industrialists, with the businessmen (27.8) and professionals (25) coming next.

(Table 4). Politicians were not figuring in marital alliances of either sex during this period.

During the reigns of second and third sets of Kartas, this base of class consolidation was enlarged. This exercise of enlargement involved the inclusion of the politicians in the marital alliance networks and somewhat more normalized distribution of marriages among other occupational segments. It was carried out keeping the changing relative importance of various occupational segments to the industrial families at various points of time. At the time of second set of Kartas. The professionals, for example, roughly provided one fourth of both the brides and grooms : the bureaucrats and the politicians contributed 10 and 7.4 per cent brides but only 7.2 and 2.5 per cent grooms respectively : the industrialists gave 30.1 per cent of brides and 39.6 per cent of the grooms as against the businessmen who gave 20.1 per cent brides and 18.6 per cent grooms.

During the tenures of third set (present) of Kartas, the importance of businessmen providing brides has declined (from 20.1 per cent : second set of Kartas to 16.6 per cent : third set of Kartas) : that of grooms has increased (from 18.6 per cent : second set of Kartas to 27 per cent : third set of Kartas). In comparison, the pattern is just the reverse in case of industrialists who are now providing larger percentage of grooms (34.2 against 39.6). The professionals are providing

lesser percentage of brides (11.4 against 25.3) but higher percentage of grooms (26.7 against 24.5). The share of bureaucrats and politicians has appreciated in both types of alliances but this appreciation in case of bureaucrats is more marked in providing brides than grooms.

During the discussions with the respondents it was revealed that although marital alliances were being entered into within the same caste groups during the reign of first set of Kartas, gradually this restriction has been removed. In fact, at the time of the third set of Kartas even marriages outside their religion have been tolerated. Whereas generally the sons were not consulted in the selection of brides for them during the reigns of first set of Kartas, the practice had begun subsequently. However, class consolidation was and continues to be, the overriding consideration in clinching marital alliances among the industrial families.

Occupational Choice

By being in the manufacturing sector, the industrial families are pursuing one major conglomeration of occupations. However, a more complete picture of their historical occupational profile can be presented by examining its structure before their entry in the manufacturing industry and the nature of non-manufacturing occupations in which their members have been engaged in after their entry. That a very large percentage of present families in India was engaged in business, trade,

banking and money-lending during their pre-industrial existence and entered the manufacturing industry after accumulating large enough capital is a fairly well documented fact (Bagchi : 1972; Brimmer : 1955; Broomfield : 1966; Gadgil : 1951, 1959; Lamb : 1955, 1956; Pavlov : 1964; Spodek : 1965, 1969 and Timberg : 1969, 1978). Data from this study also confirm this trend (Table 5). In addition, it is possible to identify the complementary role played by three different configurations of main and subsidiary occupations in the process of capital accumulation and industrial development on the capitalist path. The first of these configurations, constituting about 51.5 per cent, consists of trade and business as main occupations and four subsidiary occupations, namely white and blue collar jobs, professions (such as law, medicine and engineering) and senior government positions. These four subsidiary occupations also figure in the remaining two configurations as well. In this configuration, the more paying type of two subsidiary occupations (professions and senior government service) account for 27.2 per cent as against 24.2 by the other two. Banking and money-lending figure as the main occupations in the second configuration accounting for roughly 30.3 per cent industrial families. The third configuration is comprised of landlords and professionals and accounts for 18.2 families. In this configuration, only one type of subsidiary occupation exists.

The second aspect of occupational identity examined is the nature of non-manufacturing occupations in which the

members of the industrial families have ventured into after their entry into manufacturing industry. Two major findings are :

1. Over 80 per cent members of industrial families have always been in business, trade and industry since they entered industry (Table 6).
2. Although general character of occupations, which the remaining twenty per cent or so members have gone out, is complementary to the manufacturing process, varying emphasis appeared to have been given by the industrial families among these occupations at different points of time. Choice of law, as a profession, has remained almost static whereas consultancy has gained wider acceptance over the years. It is notable that the major users of consultancy services are none other than these industrial families themselves.

Entrepreneurial Identity : Its Development and Rationale

Entrepreneurial identity of the family members in Indian industrial families is developed through the process of adult socialization. Each member of the family is watched by the Karta and the members of the family Core Council in terms of his talents, aptitude and aspirations. He is accordingly groomed as he grows up, in stages, for specific types of roles he is expected to play in the family, and economic and other enterprises controlled by the family. These stages are :

- a) Apprenticeship : under a wide variety of individuals, some of whom might actually be dealing with non-strategic functions;
- b) Co-authorship : under the guidance of a senior member of the Core Council who is making/helping in making the strategic decisions;
- c) Partial Autonomy : handling of a few strategic functions within the guidelines provided; and
- d) Fuller Autonomy : handling of complete range of functions in the assigned area.

This process of development of entrepreneurial identity is carried out both at the seat of family management and inside the industrial and other organisations. It enables the learner and his role-model to interact very intimately and minimizes the possibilities of losses due to errors of mis-judgement on the part of the learner since the role-model is generally available to correct the same. Learning is, consequently, shorn of unnecessary theory and down to earth : it is inevitably interwoven with the family traditions.

Satisfaction of Ego Needs

The Indian industrial families fulfilled the following needs of their family members through the development of entrepreneurial identity and deployment in economic and other organizations :

1. Identity : Identity needs are fulfilled in two ways : (a) by being member of the corps of the family engaged in managing the familial economic enterprises and other institutions; and (b) by affiliation with one or more of economic units. This affiliation takes care of the identity question vis-a-vis the

society at large and specific segments of the business environments (both internal and external). The family members take pride in the accomplishments of the units with which they are associated and legends grow inside the families and outside about the manner in which they sort out their problems and turbulence. It also develops in them a sense of loyalty to their units among the comity of units controlled by their families.

2. Status : At any point of time, different family members are distributed in different strata of family managements. This hierarchy confers status in proportion to the position occupied in the family management structure. The top position goes to the Karta who heads the collective authority structure, the Core Council. The next important positions are those of Core Council members. The third layer consists of members of sub-structures, followed by all others figuring on the unit level managements without any position on the superstructures. For the last category of these family members, another determinant of status is the rank and importance of the unit(s) on which they are placed and their personal positions (i.e. director, full-time executive director, deputy/joint managing director, managing director, chairman-managing director, chairman/president). Almost all industrial families have a ranking of their economic units and, as such, placements on important units confers a higher status.

Status gains are dovetailed with experience and performance and within the families competition is always on among the younger set of members to gain ever higher status. In this race, no corner is asked for and none is given. The family managements, however, make it a point to reward a good performance in order to encourage those who do well in their assigned territories.

3. Role and Participation in Decision Making : Since most strategic decisions in the industrial families are being made at the super-structure level and most of the individual family members are identified with the units, the satisfaction of their personal ego is a key issue. The Indian industrial families have substantially solved it by employing the following mechanisms : (a) members placed on the concerned units are always consulted and involved in strategic decision making which shape the course of development of those units; (b) once the strategic decisions are taken, their implementation is via the concerned members; (c) the Karta, Core Councils and the Sub-structures are generally not interfering in day-to-day administrative and operative decisions; and (d) non-members of the super-structures are given freedom to work out their ideas and bring it to the notice of the Core Council. If they could sell the same - and this is difficult -, the super-structure accepts them giving the initiators full marks for the proposal. There are numerous examples from the industrial families where some interesting projects have germinated via this route.

4. Prestige : Family members get prestige via their performance of assigned chores. Prestige is, thus, generally tagged with the successful execution of a commissioned job i.e. erection of plant, introduction of a new product and expansion, etc. Greater the enormity of the task and stakes involved, higher the prestige. However, it is not that all the members of the Indian industrial families are timber of the same high quality : they have a mixed bag of able, the average and not so effective members. As such, they tend to have some "trouble-shooters" who can take on additional responsibilities of management of turbulence. Such individuals enjoy higher prestige uniformly in all the families. Those who do not do too well in some of their assignments are switched over to comparatively less demanding tasks/units. To develop their levels of confidence later they are propped up and gradually helped to push up the ladder again.

5. Reward : Reward system operative in the industrial families takes two forms : (a) it enhances the statuses of the rewarded individuals i.e. a promotion in the hierarchy, or more prestigious assignment; and (b) it fulfils some personal cherished desire (i.e. a sport car, a new house, a project of their choice) of the concerned member.

The reward system is, however, not a rationalized mechanism. Accomplishment of assigned tasks needs the support of resources. It is revealed that in quite a few cases some family members received far greater support to obtain their results and consequent rewards than some others. Generally, these family

members are the ones in whom the Karta and Core Council members take special interest. Thus, the entire process of satisfaction of ego needs of the family members is a highly personalized system, one in which specificities, rather than generalities, decide the choices. In its operation, it works very satisfactorily for some and not so well with certain others. However, for the families, as corporate entities, the system works fairly smoothly.

Operation of Familial and Individual Identities

Although scholars like Drucker (1978) have differentiated between management and managerial structure, quite often this distinction has not been retained by many researchers. As a result, discussions of management structures of economic enterprises has preceded independent of the family structure of those constituting their management. It is, of course, true that management of the family and economic enterprises constitute the two segments of the total management task. However, a priori assumption that they constitute two separate structures, as was done by Cohen (1973) and Singer (1972), results in a biased approach to the measurement of an empirical reality in India. In the present study, no such assumption was made and the question was left to be decided by the empirical facts.

A great deal of probing and intensive discussion with the respondents and their associates indicated that there is no separate management structure for the allocation and re-

allocation of resources and for combating turbulence in the domestic and economic spheres among the Indian industrial families. As a result, content of management response to situations faced in the domestic and economic spheres is the same in its abstract form although in specificities it is different. Since management of the domestic sphere is also largely concerned with the deployment/redeployment of familial resources - of various types -, it is considered part of the entrepreneurial identity.

Management Structures

Participation of different family members in various management structures depends upon the purpose for which the latter are created i.e. investment, production, etc. on the one hand and their number on the other. There are some structures in which every member of the family participates, if only for record purposes. In certain others, only the adults and the males do so.

Management structures operative in Indian industrial families are a deft combination of formal and informal structures. In general, however, the informal structures at the top rule supreme and the formal structures help the informal structures to take the decisions and implement the strategies charted out. At the bottom level, the informal understructures receive a fair degree of attention although there is a time when they get precedence over the formal structures.

The management structures of Indian families comprise of six hierarchies (Chart 1) : two among these function at the family and four at the economic unit levels. However, despite the large number of hierarchies, the distance between them is not much and the structures at the top and bottom are horizontally and vertically integrated fairly effectively. Theoretically, the unit level managements could receive equal attention and recognition. But, as the facts stand, management structures of different units are given varying degrees of importance and attention at various points of time depending upon their capacity to yield profits - super, good, average, or poor. The relationship of the formal management structures at the unit levels with the superstructure is formal and visible : that of informal understructures, consisting of an assorted variety of individuals, does not have any formal and legal existence. The operation of the former is highly regimented : the latter is quite free and flexible.

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Family Management Structures : Form, Jurisdiction and Recruitment

Management superstructure in Indian industrial families consists of two bodies : these have been called the Core Council and Sub-structures. These two structures are characteristically different from the Board of Directors and the General Bodies of private and public limited companies on the following counts :

1. Recruitment to the Core Council is based on seniority and calibre to get the results. Membership in both the bodies is certainly not through any election.

2. Both the Core Council and the Sub-structures are not the institutions for legitimation of decisions taken elsewhere. On the other hand, decisions taken at the Core Council and Sub-structures are sent to the Boards and General Bodies of their respective companies where the controlling capacities of the industrial families ensure their formal adoption. Their jurisdiction is, thus, original.
3. Although the Sub-structures are larger structures, functionally they are not mechanisms operating for reviewing/revising/approving the decisions taken by the Core Council.

The Core Council is the structure which shapes the response of the family to the internal and external turbulence and gives direction to the development of familial activities, economic and others. The members of the Sub-structures generally handle one or more specialised areas/functions and some of them head more than one Sub-structure.

The recruitment of family members to the management hierarchies is made in the following manner :

1. On reaching adulthood (i.e. jural status) every male member gets a placement on the formal management of one, two or even more number of family controlled units, the actual placement(s) depending upon the requirement of the family unit, the locational advantages, the potential of the concerned person and his own choice of the area/function.
2. After a family member has been working on the formal managements of the units for a number of years and has reached a stage in his personal career where the Karta has given him fuller autonomy in his functioning, he is generally elevated to the membership of Sub-structures.
3. It is an unwritten rule that a family member would not be elevated to the Core Council in the normal circumstances unless and until he has a fairly long stint in the Sub-structures and, in addition, has demonstrated his skills in visualizing, translating and trouble-shooting.

Thus, the recruitment process for the management superstructure is gradual and, to that extent, frustrating to quite a few family members. Nevertheless, it ensures mobility in the entrepreneurial career without fail. It is certainly not the ideal answer to the individual aspirations of all the family members : however, it is an excellent strategy for reconciling the overall interests of all family members.

Sub-structures

Below the Core Council are ranged various functional sub-structures of management superstructures. These deal with : (1) liaison with the State; (2) liaison with other agencies (including collaborators and competitors); (3) monitoring and control of economic units; (4) perspective planning (capacity, product mix, new lines to be entered etc.); (5) industry-specific cells; and (6) location-specific cells. Their membership comprises of Core Council members, other family members, and salaried managers. Membership of these sub-structures overlaps considerably but without double counting it, their size is always larger than that of Core Council.

Not all the members of the family deployed on the formal managements of different family units are members of these Sub-structures although after their deployment they do constitute the pool from which members of the Sub-structures are picked up by the Core Council and the Karta.

Structure at the Unit Level : Formal

The organisational form of the economic units operative is a combination of partnerships, private and public limited companies. Deployment of family members - especially the males - on the formal managements of the economic units is made in order to keep familial control over their functioning, provide training to the young entrants and ensure protection of familial interests. An important aspect of deployment of the family members on the formal management structures of the industrial units is maintenance of family hierarchy in the latter. Usually, these deployments are a mix of members of the Core Council and Sub-structures and non-members of these two bodies, with the former almost always occupying the senior positions. In their functioning, strategic decision making is made at the seat of family rather than at the site where the units are located.

Informal Understructures

Maximization of profits through the pursuit of rationality, efficiency and productivity has seldom been the route used by most of the Indian industrial families. In the absence of these means, maximization of profits has become excessively dependent upon strategies aiming at control of various components of the internal and external business environments. Management of the internal environment of the economic units is the responsibility of the formal managements. However, the actualization of the same is bolstered with the activation of

informal understructures on the one hand and use of the State apparatus on the other. These informal understructures are supplementing mechanisms generally but, if necessary, they could well be converted into ones which could - and in reality do - supplant the formal structures.

In pure compositional terms, these informal understructures comprise of workers, other employees and trade union representatives. In their functioning they work quite clandestinely, independent of their formalised organizations. In general, their numbers are larger than the actual number of the economic units indicating the fact that one industrial unit has more than one such structure existent.

Identity Inter-faces

(a) Family Members Vs Managers

The internal support system of the economic units of the industrial families consist of managers looking after : (1) materials, personnel, production, quality control, marketing and sales; (2) finance and accounting; and (3) legal aspects. All these appointees are fiercely loyal to the industrial families. However, this in itself contributes to the emergence of dual identities among the managers; one is related to social relations and the other pertaining to work. This study and other recent researches (Indira Parikh : 1978) indicate that the managers lay more emphasis on their social identity and, consequently, give greater importance to their relational than the task matrix.

The role-space of these managers has expanded as the industrial families built-up their empires. This is inevitable since the families themselves could not cope up with the ever-increasing work load. However, not every one among these managers is enjoying the recognition from the policy planning segments of the family managements. Since the really top positions for the managers at the Sub-structural levels are very few, a damaging competitiveness grows up among them to reach there. This is result of need for recognition and approval, greed for power, envy, fear of criticism and lack of consideration for others.

This situation is shrewdly exploited by both the parties. The senior members of the industrial families exploit the managers by denying them the real independence and keeping them in constant fear and suspense. In their effort to present a more favourable impression on their bosses, the managers usually end up in saying and doing what the former desire and like, no matter what it costs to the concerned unit and its various components. The junior members of the entrepreneurial corps of the industrial families need personal support of the managers to do well and impress their seniors on the Sub-structures and the Core Councils. This is suitably exploited by such managers as are members of the Sub-structures and/or the confidants of the senior members of the industrial families. In the exchanges of both types, sometimes the equations do not work out properly and the concerned individuals from both the sides suffer considerably.

(b) Family and Individual Identities

Familial identity is represented by the familial traditions, values, and practices and is generally looked after by the collective authority structure consisting of Core Council and headed by the Karta. The clash of individual and family identities is seen through two significant factors in this study : the nature of the authority structure and type of turbulence exhibited by the industrial families.

Measured on four separate dimensions, authority structure of industrial families displayed six major patterns reflecting the occurrence of high, moderate and low attention control, person control, attributed authority in domestic and economic affairs at the time of different sets of Kartas (Table 7). In general, it is revealed that the attributed authority in domestic and economic affairs has not reached low levels even at the time of third sets of Kartas emphasizing the extreme degree of centralization of decision making in allocation and reallocation of the familial resources. The lowering of attention control and person control is not due to any eagerness on the part of family authority structures : it is inherent in the developing situation where a larger number of branch segments of the industrial families are living in separate households and where control of these two is becoming virtually an impossible task anyway.

The industrial families exhibit the following types of turbulence :

1. General Familial Turbulence : concerning obedience and respect to the elders, observance of family traditions, and religious practices, performance of domestic chores, marital and personal relationships;
2. Turbulence in Domestic Sphere : concerning succession, share in the family wealth, property and income, deposits to and withdrawals from family pools, life styles;
3. Turbulence in Economic Sphere : concerning use and exploitation of familial ventures on family versus personal guidelines.

Sequentially three patterns of familial turbulence are discovered : (a) high turbulence throughout; (b) high turbulence of all three types moderating during the reigns of third set of Kartas; (c) only general turbulence becoming moderate at the time of third set of Kartas (Table 8). From the empirical evidence it is evident that presence of turbulence in the industrial families has become almost a normal feature. It is also notable that turbulence in domestic and economic spheres has remained high in as many as 63.7 per cent families throughout. Since generally the industrial families have shown very high degree of familial turbulence, they have employed a large number of strategies to combat them and keep their corporate entities intact and economic activities going.

Implications of Unresolved Identity Crises

Strategies of combating turbulence caused by identity clashes do not always succeed : nor do they satisfy all the

persons involved. As a result, potential threats to the corporate entities of the industrial families and the economic enterprises controlled by them turn into realities. This affects a large number of others including the managers, workers, shareholders on the one hand and the State and the consumers on the other. On their own, the Indian industrial families have not opted for the use of standard therapeutic techniques in such cases - family group therapy, interaction studies, experimental learning, and psychotherapeutic process etc. - and the managers in their units are in no position to be helped by the behavioural scientists on this point. Although only three families from the sample used in this study have reached a point of no return, the economic units of quite a few others have become victims of their identity conflicts.

The State could have played a very crucial role in affecting the identity issue in the industrial families by significantly changing the laws pertaining to inheritance, income and wealth taxes and industrial development, all of which have shaped identity formation and operation in the Indian industrial families. However, it has neither displayed its political inclinations nor the requisite organisational resources to do so.

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Table - 1
Educational Attainments of Kartas, Males and Females

Level of Educational Attainment	Frequency and Percentages of Kartas, Males and Females					
	Karta III		Karta II		Karta I	
	Karta	Males	Females	Karta	Males	Females
1. Illiterate	-	-	-	-	41 (6.5)	83 (14.8)
2. Just Literate	-	143 (16.4)	122 (17.0)	-	102 (16.1)	228 (40.6)
3. School Leaving Certificate	-	332 (38.1)	340 (47.4)	14 (42.4)	234 (36.9)	83 (14.8)
4. Graduate and Over	33 (100.0)	397 (45.5)	255 (35.6)	19 (57.6)	257 (40.5)	168 (29.8)
Total Number	33	872	717	33	634	562
					33	438
						395

Figures in the parentheses show percentages.

Table - 2

Professional Qualifications of the Family Members Deployed on the Economic Units

Nature of Professional Qualification	Frequency and Percentage of Family Members					
	Karta III		Karta II		Karta I	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
1. Professionally acquainted	535	67.7	401	69.3	412	100.0
2. Professional Training/Degree from India	125	15.8	79	13.6	-	-
3. Professional Training/Degree from Abroad	130	16.5	99	17.1	-	-
Total Number of Members Deployed	790	100.0	579	100.0	412	100.0

Table - 3

Family Background of Brides for the Sons of Industrial Families

Family Background of Brides	Frequency and Percentages of Brides					
	Karta III		Karta II		Karta I	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
1. Businessmen	52	16.6	54	20.1	72	32.6
2. Industrialists	134	42.5	81	30.1	61	27.6
3. Professionals	36	11.4	68	25.3	36	16.3
4. Bureaucrats	50	15.9	27	10.0	21	9.5
5. Politicians	29	9.2	20	7.4	-	-
6. Others	14	4.4	19	7.1	31	14.0
Total Number of Brides	315	100.0	269	100.0	221	100.0

Table - 4

Family Background of Grooms for the Daughters of Industrial Families

Family Background of Grooms	Frequency and Percentage of Grooms					
	Karta III		Karta II		Karta I	
	Frequ- ency	Percen- tage	Frequ- ency	Percen- tage	Frequ- ency	Percen- tage
1. Businessmen	76	27.0	44	18.6	51	27.8
2. Industrialists	96	34.2	94	39.6	65	35.3
3. Professionals	75	26.7	58	24.5	56	25.0
4. Bureaucrats	24	8.5	17	7.2	10	5.4
5. Politicians	9	3.2	6	2.5	-	-
6. Others	1	0.4	18	7.6	12	6.5
Total Number of Grooms	281	100.0	237	100.0	184	100.0

Table - 5

Configuration of Main and Subsidiary Occupations of Industrial Families Before Their Entry Into Manufacturing Industry

Configura- tion Pattern	Frequency and Percentage of Families						
	Main Occupations			Subsidiary Occupations			
	Busi- ness & Trade	Banking & Money Lending	Land- lord & Farming	White collar jobs	Work- ers	Profe- ssions	Senior Govern- ment Officials
I	17 (51.5)	-	-	5 (15.1)	3 (9.1)	4 (12.1)	5 (15.1)
II	-	10 (30.3)	-	3 (9.1)	1 (3.0)	2 (6.1)	4 (12.1)
III	-	-	6 (18.2)	-	-	6 (18.2)	-

Figures in the parentheses show percentages.

Table - 6

Participation of Family Members in Different Occupations

Type of Occupa- tions	Frequency and Percentage of Participating Members					
	Karta III		Karta II		Karta I	
	Frequ- ency	Percen- tage	Frequ- ency	Percen- tage	Frequ- ency	Percen- tage
1. Business, Trade and Manufacturing	1,963	84.2	1,549	84.8	976	81.2
2. Law	108	4.6	80	4.4	46	3.8
3. Medicine	-	-	41	2.2	62	5.1
4. Engineering	-	-	29	1.6	46	3.8
5. Consultancy	261	11.2	99	5.4	53	4.4
6. Bureaucracy	-	-	29	1.6	21	1.7
Total Membership	2,332	100.0	1,827	100.0	1,204	100.0

Chart 1

Management Structures in Industrial Families

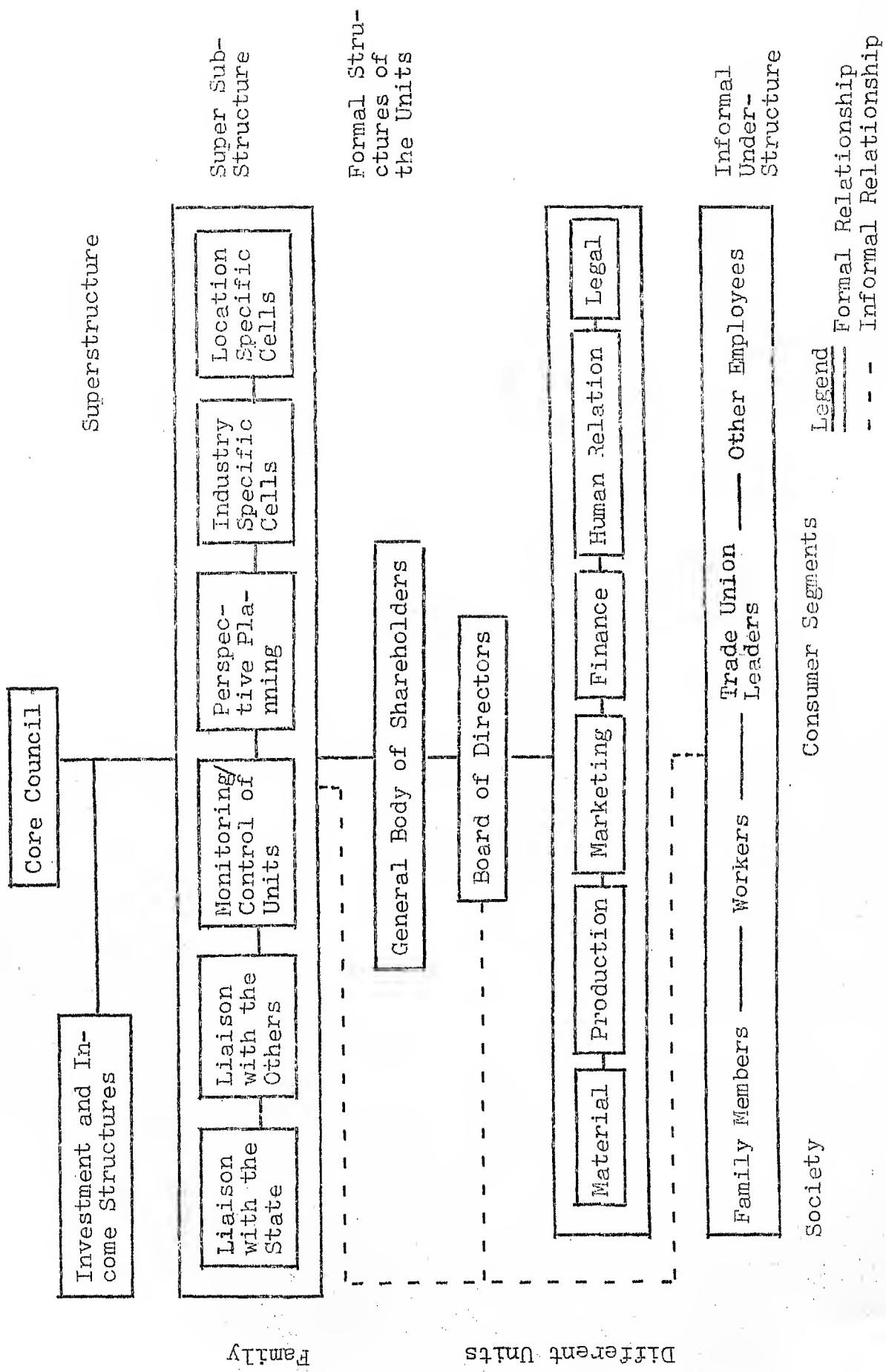


Table - 7

Patterns of Nature of Authority and Power Structure in Industrial Families

Authority Patterns	Nature* and Sequence of Authority Patterns** in Industrial Families												Frequency and Percentage of Families	
	Karta III				Karta II				Karta I				Frequency	Percentage
	A	P	D	E	A	P	D	E	A	P	D	E		
1	M	M	H	H	M	M	H	H	H	H	H	H	7	21.2
2	M	M	M	H	M	M	M	H	M	M	H	H	6	18.2
3	M	L	M	H	M	L	M	H	M	M	M	H	7	21.2
4	L	L	M	H	M	L	M	H	M	M	M	H	6	18.2
5	M	L	M	M	M	L	M	M	M	M	M	M	4	12.1
6	L	L	M	M	M	L	M	M	M	M	M	M	3	9.1

*H = High; M = Moderate; L = Low

**A = Attention Control

P = Person Control

D = Attributed Authority and Power in Domestic Sphere

E = Attributed Authority and Power in Economic Sphere.

Table - 8

Nature and Extent of Turbulence in Industrial Families

Patterns of Turbulence	Nature, Extent* and Sequence of Turbulence												Frequency and Per- centage of Families	
	Karta III				Karta II				Karta I				Frequency	Percentage
	General	Domestic Sphere	Economic Sphere	General	Domestic Sphere	Economic Sphere	General	Domestic Sphere	Economic Sphere	General	Domestic Sphere	Economic Sphere		
1	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	12	36.4
2	M	M	M	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	12	36.4
3	M	H	H	M	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	9	27.3

* H = High; M = Moderate